Soviet Federalism: Nationalism and Economic Decentralization. by Alastair McAuley
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any solutions to the problems of multi-ethnic states along such lines depend critically on the various groups' willingness to accept rational, compromise solutions, to give up claims to territorial autonomy and to trust the state administration to respect and protect the cultural rights of diverse groups in an evenhanded way. Such favorable conditions have been rare indeed during the more than eight decades since Renner and Bauer formulated their ideas.

The second and third parts of this volume take up the problems of trying to resolve ethnic conflicts in the old Habsburg Monarchy and in various contemporary societies, respectively. The quality of the contributions varies but several essays offer valuable insights about the historical experience of central Europe or useful syntheses on contemporary conditions elsewhere. Gerald Stourzh provides a lucid and thoughtful assessment of just how well the Austrian half of the monarchy respected its own constitutional guarantees of minority rights. Zdeněk Kárník reminds the reader of how industrialization and structural social change influenced ethnic identification and group relations in the Bohemian Lands. In Canada, as Berel Rodal describes it, Pierre Trudeau tried in fact to depoliticize ethnicity, an effort that has largely failed in Quebec where the francophone element has worked assiduously to claim that territory as its own. Lawrence Schlemmer's essay on South Africa and Robert W. Hefner's fine synthesis on Indonesia since World War II both reject the applicability of the Renner-Bauer theories. Thus far, race and class, not ethnicity, have been the most fundamental divisions in South African society; and any constitutional solutions to the conflicts there are unlikely to follow the Renner-Bauer models. In Indonesian political life a newly formed trans-ethnic national identity has largely transcended more particularist ethnic identities.

The volume concludes with a sobering dialogue between Elie Kedourie and George Urban on the implications of resurgent nationalism for international stability in the contemporary world. Events have already overtaken some of the speculations here about the outlook for the peoples of the old Soviet Union, eastern Europe and the Middle East. Still, Kedourie offers sage warnings about the utopian character of many proffered solutions to ethnic and national conflicts in multi-ethnic states and the particular difficulties that confront any effort to resolve such differences by creating confederative or consociational political structures. Readers interested in an introduction to the theories of Renner and Bauer or in overviews of the experience for the countries discussed here will find this volume useful, but those who want more serious treatment of these problems should seek out the appropriate monographic literature.

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Soviet Federalism: Nationalism and Economic Decentralization. Ed. Alastair McAuley. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. ix, 214 pp. Statistical tables. Index. $49.95, hard bound.

Events have overtaken the topical concerns of this book but it offers solid research and raises still important questions, especially on the relationship between politics and economy. It consists of twelve papers presented at a conference on "Soviet Federalism, the Nationality Question and Economic Decentralization" sponsored by the Leicester Center for Federal Studies and the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies in September 1990. Some of the papers cover broader federalist issues, especially related to the former Soviet Union, but four essays focus on the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The volume is prefaced by the series editor, Murray Forsyth.

Discussion is begun by Daniel J. Elazar in an essay on federal democracy; his main point is that federalism helps democratization of the world. While democracy is possible without federalism, he says, federalism without democracy is not. Raymond Pear-

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son offers a succinct history of the development of the Soviet federal system, suggesting that even "fraudulent" Soviet federalism was "better than nothing" for the non-Russian nationalities. He does not think, however, that Gorbachev will be able to save federalism. Jane Henderson adds a legal dimension to the discussion. She reviews the November 1990 draft treaty of the Union but correctly maintains that altering the legal structure will not result in a federation, though the Communist Party's abandonment of monopoly power "creates the potential" for it. Ann Sheehy gives us the ethno-demographic dimension of the question. This is a well researched and wisely commented chapter. Echoing Hans Kohn, she observes that Moscow has sought to depoliticize ethnicity but that Soviets failed to do so, and that Gorbachev is not likely to preserve federalism but will have to agree either to a looser association or secession, or even to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Klaus van Beyme ably explains the economic dimension of Soviet federalism, indicating that what he calls "economic" and "welfare imperialisms" of Moscow have supplemented each other, but that this fact was not appreciated by non-Russian nationalities. In his view, non-Russians have lost too much trust in Moscow to allow the reconstruction of a Soviet federation—other conditions for restored federalism also cannot be met by Gorbachev. Viacheslav Seliverstov of Novosibirsk offers a different perspective, reviewing interrepublican economic interactions. He asserts that "we are witnessing the making of a new Soviet federation, a painful process in which the importance of the already achieved economic integration is overlooked."

Miervaldis Ramans of the Council of Ministers of Latvia shows how, in practice, democratic centralization negated federalism. Andris Plotnieks, a scholar from the University of Latvia, gives a very useful review of proposals by Latvians in Moscow and in Riga on the restructuring of the USSR and on the place of the Baltic states in the new system. Mikhail Bronstein, an Estonian scholar, reviews the breakdown of Soviet economy and proposes the European Economic Community as a model for a Soviet "common market of a free union of independent states." He also suggests that the Baltic peoples will not profit from a complete rupture of political and economic links to the Soviet Union. The free Baltic States should serve as an economic bridge between east and west. Kestutis K. Girnius gives a very useful review of the discussion in the Baltic States of arguments on independence vs. federation with the USSR. He considers that the choice will not be made for some years, though it should be pointed out that for better or for worse Lithuania already had made its choice on 11 March 1990. Girnius is right, however, that with the Balts, political considerations had primacy over economic arguments. Economic constraints on republic autonomy are discussed by editor Alastair McAuley who examines Lithuania's economic performance and considers "costs" and "benefits" from being "a part of integrated Soviet economy." His discussion suffers somewhat from the unavailability to the author of Lithuanian discussions in 1989–1990, though the 1990–1992 development has shown that, as he and Bronstein suggested, independent Lithuania's economic welfare and standard of living indeed went down. McAuley concludes that "something less than full independence is to be preferred." If solely economic considerations dominated Lithuanian thinking, the author would be right.

But this is not the case, and—one must ask—why is it not possible in today's world for a nation to take charge of its destiny without losing out economically? The example of Europe shows that Europeans already have learned how to do it. It is tempting to interpret the recent (1992) electoral victory of the Democratic Workers Party (former Communist Party) in Lithuania as proving McAuley's point. However, even this party stands for full independence while advocating a current need of economic ties to Russia and the other nations of the CIS. Ronald Watts concludes the discussion by attempting to typologize federal systems.

This is a well researched and thought-provoking book.

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Politics and Nationality in Contemporary Soviet-Jewish Emigration, 1968–1989. By Laurie P. Salitan. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. Select bibliography. Index. $49.95, hard bound.

There are two schools of thought as to the main factor involved in Soviet decision making on the question of Soviet Jewish emigration. One school of thought, repre-

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